

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 119469

GENEVA FOR CSCE DELEGATION

E O 11652: GDS

TAGS PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: CANADIAN VIEWS REGARDING NATOMIN COMMUNIQUE

1. CANADIAN EMBASSY COUNSELOR SINGLETON PROVIDED TO DEPARTMENT JUNE 6 AIDE-MEMOIRE WHICH CANADIANS ARE DELIVERING TO US, FRANCE, NETHERLANDS, FRG, DENMARK, NORWAY, UK, PORTUGAL, ITALY, BELGIUM, GREECE AND TURKEY. THEY HOPE THAT AIDE-MEMOIRE WILL HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON DECISIONS TAKEN BY EC MINISTERS IN THEIR MEETING JUNE 10-11 WITH REGARD TO CSCE, AND SINGLETON SAID CANADIAN MINISTER FOR EXTAFF SHARP WILL DRAW ON IT IN MINISTERIAL NAC DISCUSSION OF CSCE. SINGLETON CALLED ATTENTION TO PARA 6 WHICH SUGGESTS NATOMIN COMMUNIQUE INDICATE THAT AS LONG AS BALANCED CSCE RESULT REMAINS REASONABLE PROSPECT, NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE BROKEN OFF. AT THE SAME TIME, HE

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NOTED THAT PARA 5 WOULD CALL FOR ADJOURNMENT OF CSCE

IF AT ANY POINT IT BECOMES APPARENT THAT NO GENERAL PROGRESS IS IMMEDIATELY LIKELY. IN COMMENTING ON AIDE-MEMOIRE, DEPTOFF SAID WE BELIEVE ANY PROPOSALS FOR ADJOURNMENT WOULD REPRESENT MAJOR DEPARTURE, AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED VERY CAREFULLY IN NAC AND CAPITALS

AND DREW ADDITIONALLY ON STATE 112720 IN PRESENTING US VIEWS.

2. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF AIDE-MEMOIRE.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

(1) WE HAVE REVIEWED TEXTS SO FAR AGREED AT GENEVA AND HAVE NOTED THAT BALANCE OF INTEREST AS REFLECTED IN UNBRACKETED PORTIONS IS IN FAVOUR OF WARSAW PACT.

(2) PROGRESS AS BETWEEN THREE BASKETS HAS BEEN UNEVEN, AND ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE NO IMMEDIATE DANGER IN THIS UNEVENNESS, CARE WILL BE NECESSARY TO AVOID PUTTING WARSAW PACT ORGANIZATION (WPO) IN POSITION WHERE THEY CAN PRESS FOR STAGE III OF THE CONFERENCE ON BASIS OF SUBSTANTIAL RANGE OF AGREED TEXTS MOST OF WHICH ARE THOSE THEY HAVE FAVOURED. THERE IS ALREADY SOME EVIDENCE THAT THIS TACTIC MAY BE FOLLOWED.

(3) IT IS APPARENT THAT FURTHER PROGRESS WILL DEPEND ON GREATER SOVIET FLEXIBILITY, GREATER SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATION ON SPECIFIC MEASURES AND WARSAW PACT WILLINGNESS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF IMPORTANCE OF WESTERN PREOCCUPATIONS REGARDING POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE. OBJECT OF TACTICS OF NATO COUNTRIES SHOULD THEREFORE BE TO INDUCE SUCH DEVELOPMENTS IN WPO POLICIES.

(4) IT IS APPARENT THAT GREAT DEAL OF BARGAINING STILL REMAINS AT CSCE AND IT IS TOO EARLY, IN OUR VIEW, TO GO VERY FAR TOWARDS DEFINING WHAT SHOULD BE MINIMUM STATEMENTS OF OBJECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICAL MEASURES. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WEST SHOULD NOT LOSE,
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NOR APPEAR TO BE LOSING, ITS COLLECTIVE DETERMINATION WHICH HAS IN PAST BEEN SO EFFECTIVE. ABOVE ALL, WEST MUST AVOID BEING MANOEUVURED INTO POSITION OF APPEARING TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE OF CSCE.

(5) TACTICS TO ACHIEVE OUR ENDS AND TO AVOID PITFALLS AT GENEVA SHOULD BE BASED ON AVOIDANCE OF APPEARANCE-OF OVERWHELMING URGENCY. DELEGATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE

TO PROCEED STEP BY STEP THROUGH MATERIAL SUBMITTED AND TO TRY TO IDENTIFY AND TEST SOVIET INTENTIONS WITH RESPECT TO IT. ABOVE ALL, DEADLINES SHOULD BE AVOIDED SINCE THESE COULD WORK TO DISADVANTAGE OF WESTERN INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY AS LONG AS BALANCE OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS REMAINS IN WPO FAVOUR. FINALLY, IF AT ANY

POINT IT BECOMES APPARENT THAT NO GENERAL PROGRESS IS IMMEDIATELY LIKELY, WE SHOULD PROPOSE THAT CSCE AGREE ON ADJOURNMENT FOR APPROPRIATE PERIOD TO ALLOW FOR REFLECTION, RECONSIDERATION, EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BOTH BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY, AND PREPARATION OF NEW POSITION.

(6) TO ACHIEVE THIS, NATO MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE MIGHT HAVE PARAGRAPH ON CSCE CONTAINING BRIEF REFERENCE TO LACK OF PROGRESS RESULTING FROM REFUSAL OF CERTAIN PARTICIPANTS EVEN TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS REFLECTING SERIOUS CONCERNS OF NATO MEMBERS, WHILE PRESSING OWN POSITIONS. THIS MIGHT BE FOLLOWED BY EXPRESSION OF COMMON DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATING PATIENTLY AT CSCE AS LONG AS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE BALANCED RESULT; AS LONG AS SUCH RESULT REMAINS REASONABLE PROSPECT. NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE BROKEN OFF.

(7) COMMUNIQUE MIGHT ALSO REPEAT RATIONALE FOR BASKET III ITEMS, I.E. DETENTE MUST BE BASED NOT ONLY ON STABLE INTER-STATE RELATIONS, BUT ALSO ON MORE RELAXED, FREQUENT AND COMPREHENSIVE CONTACTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AT ALL LEVELS. IMPROVED INTER-STATE RELATIONS ARE IMPORTANT, BUT ALONE WILL NOT ACHIEVE DETENTE IF THEY ARE NOT REINFORCED BY IMPROVEMENTS IN PERSONAL RELATIONS AND SUPPORT OF PUBLIC OPINION.

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(8) IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING PUBLICATION OF NATO COMMUNIQUE, NATO REPRESENTATIVES IN WPO CAPITALS SHOULD MAKE SEPARATE REPRESENTATIONS DRAWING ATTENTION TO COMMUNIQUE AND TO NEED FOR INCREASED FLEXIBILITY AS WELL AS NATO COUNTRIES' DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE INDEFINITELY WITH NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH REPRESENTATIONS MIGHT ALSO INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF PROPOSAL FOR ADJOURNMENT FOR RECONSIDERATION OF VIEWS. REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD MAKE POINT THAT AT RESUMED MEETINGS IN GENEVA AFTER ADJOURNMENT, BOTH SIDES WOULD BE EXPECTED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE BALANCED PACKAGE. END TEXT.

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